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ABSTRACT

This report presents the preliminary findings of a research project designed to investigate the ways local school systems in the North deal with de facto school segregation. The communities chosen for the investigation are those 95 cities in the Permanent Community Sample of the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) which are non-Southern and had a black population of at least 3,000 in 1960. NORC interviewers conducted a series of 18 elite interviews with local politicians, government officials, school system personnel, civic leaders, and civil rights leaders. The design and methodology was such that the interviewees were treated as informants giving information about the city rather than as respondents giving information about themselves. The report focuses primarily on the decision-making processes revolving around the first major demand for the improvement of education for Negroes. Descriptive analyses of the demands presented to the school systems and the responses of the latter to these demands are presented. The decision of many school systems to initiate a busing program is further analyzed, and some of the correlates of this decision are discussed. Included among these correlates are the general liberalism of the school board, levels of controversy in a city, and the general level of civil rights activity in a city. (Author/RJ)

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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN THE NORTH:

A PRELIMINARY REPORT

Report No. 86

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ABSTRACT

This report presents the preliminary findings of a research project designed to investigate the ways local school systems in the North deal with de facto school segregation and the problems arising from it. The communities chosen as the focus of this research are those ninety-five cities in the National Opinion Research Center's Permanent Community Sample which are "non-southern" and which had a black population of at least 3,000 in 1960. Within each of the sample cities NORC interviewers conducted a series of eighteen elite interviews with local politicians, government officials, school system personnel, civic leaders, and civil rights leaders. An important feature of the design and methodology is the fact that these interviewees were treated as informants who would give us information about the city rather than as respondents who would give us information about themselves.

The report focuses primarily on the decision-making processes revolving around the first major demand for the improvement of education for Negroes. A descriptive analysis of both the demands presented to the school systems and the responses of the school systems to these demands is presented. The decision of many school systems to initiate a busing program is singled out for further analysis, and some of the correlates of this decision are discussed. Included among these correlates are the general liberalism of the school board, levels of controversy in a city, and the general level of civil rights activity in a city.

Introduction

Since 1960 northern cities have faced the problem of how to deal with de facto school segregation. In cities like Washington, D. C., the problem is overwhelming. Ninety-three and a half per cent of the public school system's students are Negro, and less than 1 per cent of them attend schools which are more than 50 per cent white. In other cities, like St. Paul, Minnesota, the problem seems more manageable at first glance. Only 5.8 per cent of St. Paul's public school students are black, and 87.6 per cent of them attend schools which are predominantly white. However, both St. Paul and Washington, D. C. have been faced with demands from civil rights groups to end de facto segregation in the schools, and both have had to respond to those demands.

This report presents the preliminary findings from research designed to investigate the ways local school systems in the North deal with de facto segregation and the problems arising from it. The research program, funded by the Carnegie Corporation, assumed the existence of variation between communities in the way the politics of desegregation is carried out. Furthermore, we assumed that this variation was not idiosyncratic, but was related to other characteristics of cities. In the broadest sense, the purpose of this study was to understand how political systems deal with their political problems. In a narrower sense, it was concerned with the political problems local school systems confront as a result of de facto segregation.

Sample and Data Collection

The communities which were chosen as the focus of the research are those ninety-five cities in the National Opinion Research Center's Permanent Community Sample which are "non-southern", and which in 1960 had a Negro population of at least 3,000. (See Appendix A.) The Permanent Community Sample is a national probability sample of all American cities which had a population of 50,000 or more in 1960, and is stratified by size. It includes all cities of 150,000 population or more; 76 per cent of the cities from 100,000-149,999; 56 per cent of the cities from 75,000-99,999; and 40 per cent of the cities from 50,000-74,999.

For the purposes of this research "non-southern" includes all cities in the West, North Central, and Northeast census regions (excluding Alaska, Hawaii, and territorial possessions) as defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, and those cities in the South census region which desegregated their public school systems immediately after the 1954 Brown decision by the U.S. Supreme Court. That is, those southern cities which ceased maintaining de jure segregated school systems immediately after the Brown decision are treated here as "non-southern."

Because the research was concerned primarily with school desegregation and the political activity surrounding this phenomenon, the sample was limited to those cities from the Permanent Community Sample where there was some probability of the issue of school desegregation

arising, namely cities with a black population large enough to have one or more segregated schools. It was estimated that the minimum number of blacks in a population needed to produce at least one segregated elementary school in a city was 3,000. Consequently, the additional restriction that each city have a black population of at least 3,000 was placed on the sample.

Table 1 shows for each size category the number of cities in the United States having a 1960 population of 50,000 or more; the sampling percentage of the Permanent Community Sample; the number of northern cities in the United States (as we have defined northern); and the per cent of all northern cities in the United States which were sampled for this research. The restrictions of location and racial composition resulted in a final sample of ninety-five cities, which was further reduced to ninety-three when circumstances made it impossible to begin field work in two cities -- Oakland and Boston.

Insert Table 1 about here

Excluding those northern cities in the Permanent Community Sample which had fewer than 3,000 blacks meant that sixty-one cities were eliminated, each having a population of 250,000 or less. Fifty-seven of these sixty-one cities had a population of 150,000 or less; sixteen ranged in population from 75,000 to 99,999; and thirty-one ranged from 50,000 to 74,999. Moreover, twenty-two (35 per cent) were "central

cities" and forty-one (65 per cent) were "suburban" communities. A city was considered "suburban" if it was located within thirty-five miles of another city with a population two or more times as large. The largest city in an area was considered the "central city." The net effect, therefore, of applying the racial composition criterion to the Permanent Community Sample was to eliminate many smaller and suburban communities. Thirty-seven (61.6 per cent) of the cities eliminated for the aforementioned reason were suburbs of one of the thirteen largest cities in the northern United States. However, sixteen cities in the final sample of ninety-one (17.6 per cent) were also suburbs of these same thirteen cities (see Table 2). Therefore, while the number of northern suburban cities was reduced by limiting the sample to those cities with more than 3,000 blacks, such cities were by no means completely eliminated.

Insert Table 2 about here

In summary, 60 per cent of all northern cities in the Permanent Community Sample, and 37 per cent of all northern cities in the entire United States are included in our final sample. As Table 3 shows, this represents 77.6 per cent of the total population of northern cities in the Permanent Community Sample. While they are neither a randomly selected nor statistically representative sample of all northern U.S.

cities, these ninety-three cities do represent the universe of all northern U.S. cities with a population of 250,000 or more, and they are a fairly representative sample of all northern cities of 50,000 or more which contain at least 3,000 Negroes. Although suburban communities are slightly under-represented, it is not in any way evident that the final sample otherwise differs radically from any stratified random sample of all northern U.S. cities that might be drawn. Therefore, we consider these ninety-three cities to be a representative sample of "big cities" in the northern United States.

Insert Table 3 about here

Within each of the sample cities, National Opinion Research Center interviewers conducted a series of eighteen interviews. These included interviews with persons in the following positions:

1. City editor of a major local newspaper
2. 1955 school board member
3. Mayor or his administrative assistant
4. Political leader of the party opposite the Mayor
5. A major civic leader in the community
6. An informed civil rights leader in the community
7. Superintendent of schools
8. PTA president
9. A "moderate" civil rights leader knowledgeable about city schools in 1963
10. A "moderate" civil rights leader knowledgeable about city schools in 1968
11. A "militant" civil rights leader
12. A black politician
13. A black businessman
14. A current member of the school board who is black

15. A current member of the school board who is knowledgeable about the desegregation issues in the city
16. A current school board member who is knowledgeable about school board elections or appointments
17. A current school board member who is knowledgeable about city school finances
18. A member of the school superintendent's staff

An additional self-administered questionnaire was completed by a member of a local newspaper staff whose area of special interest or assignment was education or schools, bringing the total number of different questionnaires administered to nineteen. Respondents did not receive the same questionnaire or questions, although some questions were common to all interviews. In essence, the project proposed to interview a city, and the interview was divided among nineteen different parts of that city.

Respondents were interviewed in three "waves," with each wave supplying information and names used in formulating questions and identifying respondents for the next. The first wave consisted of the education reporter questionnaire and provided general description of and information about the major school desegregation issues in the city, the actors involved in these issues, the characteristics of the city's political system, and the characteristics of the school system and administration. The second wave of interviews (#1-6) dealt with such factors as the most important problems and controversies facing the city since 1960 (not necessarily with regard to race or school desegregation); the people most influencial in the city and in the resolution of the city's problems; a recent mayoral election; changes in the characteristics and style of school board operation and

recruitment since 1955; information on civic leaders and organizations; and the identification of and information about the local civil rights movement, organizations, and leaders. Respondents in the third and final wave (#7-18) were questioned in greater detail about the response of the school system, civil rights organizations, the political system, and the general public to the city's major school desegregation issue or demand; the recruitment of school board members; the recruitment, political behavior, and career of the Superintendent of Schools; the general financial backing given the school system in terms of budgetary, tax and bond support by the political system, civic elite, and the general public; the recruitment practices of civil rights organizations; the attitudes and ideologies of civil rights leaders (leaders in the black community); and school system statistical data.

The education reporters received their questionnaires by mail in November of 1967. Upon their completion, and after a preliminary analysis and the extraction of material to be used in succeeding interviews, the second wave of questionnaires was administered beginning in April of 1968. The third wave began in July, 1968 and continued through May of 1969. Table 4 shows the response rate for each of the nineteen questionnaires. The education reporter and superintendent of schools were the most difficult interviews to obtain, but even in these two cases, 85 per cent of the questionnaires were completed. This excellent response rate is partially due to the fact that each questionnaire could be answered by any one of several persons in a city. While the research is, in the abstract, a sample survey, there are

important differences between a survey of individuals and a survey of cities, which influenced the design of this study. Since information must come from a number of different sources in each community, the "questionnaire" was written in such a way as to make optimal use of the variety of sources. We were primarily interested in procuring information about a city and its decision-making process, and assumed that any one of several civic leaders or civil rights leaders, for example, could provide us with the necessary information. Consequently, the interviewers were provided with the names of several potential respondents for each questionnaire, and if the first choice could not or would not cooperate, we attempted to interview the second choice. In most cases, our first choice did cooperate, but the important fact is that we were treating the interviewees as informants rather than respondents.[1] Therefore, no one person was crucial to our design, and no one person's refusal to cooperate was very damaging.

Insert Table 4 about here

One final point should be made about the sample and data collection. We experienced problems with the interviewers after completion of the first two waves of questionnaires both in Long Beach, California, and Tucson, Arizona. Because we were unable to find and train two new

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[1]Even though the methodology and design of the study distinguish between informant and respondent, this report uses the two terms interchangeably.

interviewers in the time available, Long Beach and Tucson were dropped from the sample after the second wave. Consequently, the total sample size for the first and second waves is ninety-three, and it is ninety-one for the third wave.

In summary, these nineteen questionnaires administered in the ninety-three cities totaled approximately 350 pages of questions and produced more than 15,000 computer columns of raw data for each sample city. The resulting data bank represents the product of four man years on the research design and questionnaire construction, not to mention the time spent interviewing. This report presents and comments upon some preliminary findings from the research just described. We shall address ourselves to three sets of questions.

1. How can we describe the range and distribution of school desegregation decisions in the urban North?

2. What attitudes do community leaders in the urban North hold toward integration?

3. What are the causes, or correlates, of a city's decision to initiate busing as a desegregation action?

The Demand for Northern School Desegregation

We cannot at this time provide a complete descriptive account of the entire course of school desegregation in each of our cities although we hope to be able to comment on this in future reports. In this report we will focus primarily on the decision-making processes revolving around the first major demand for the improvement of education for Negroes in each city. The questionnaire sent to the education reporters

provided us with the basic data on the first major demand. This respondent was asked to give us a factual account of two or three issues or events, or series of events, in his city since 1960, including the first major demand for the improvement of education for Negroes. Specifically, he was asked,

> Since 1960, what was the first major public demand for the improvement of education for Negroes made to the public school system? By this we mean the first demand which had a broad base of support and the public backing of at least one of the two important civil rights groups in the city at that time.

Where we did not receive a completed education reporter questionnaire, the same question was given to the city editor. Similarly, when the city editor was unable to document a first major demand, the question was given to the 1963 educational civil rights leader respondent. If none of these three respondents was able to recall a first major demand, the city was coded as having none.

To give the reader a flavor for the kinds of issues and events we are studying, several of the first major demands are given below.

> Buffalo, N. Y. -- In the winter of 1964 the NAACP demanded that school board integrate the new Woodlawn Junior High School when it opened.
>
> Hamilton, Ohio -- In April of 1968, a committee of concerned citizens in the second and fourth wards demanded that the school board reappoint a teacher who had been fired, hire more black professionals in the schools, hire a black principal at the Harrison School, incorporate black studies in the curriculum, assist black students in finding employment, and generally upgrade black education.
>
> Portland, Oregon -- In October of 1962 the Portland Citizens Committee on Racial Imbalance asked the school board to reduce overcrowding at 99 per cent black Westinghouse High School.
>
> Sacramento, Calif. -- In August of 1963 the NAACP demanded that the school board solve the problem of de facto school segregation.

> Waterbury, Conn. -- During the summer of 1965 the Federation for Our Rights demanded that the school board redraw school boundaries so that Negroes would be evenly distributed throughout three high schools.

In general, the first major demands indicated a growing concern by local civil rights groups over de facto segregation, and they usually included a desire for integration as the best solution. Table 5 shows that in more than three-fourths of the eighty cities where demands on the school board have been made, the first major demand called for some form of student integration. The first major demand in a few cities sought the integration of faculties and administration, and there were other scattered demands for the upgrading of existing black schools, improvement of curriculum, and the construction of new schools. But by far the most common thrust of the first demands was for general student integration.

Insert Table 5 about here

We also know several other things about the first major demand. Table 6 shows that the civil rights groups presenting these demands to the school boards were, for the most part, local branches of the established and traditional civil rights groups in the country: the NAACP, CORE, and the Urban League.

Insert Table 6 about here

Most of the demands were made in the early and middle 1960's. Table 7 indicates that about 60 per cent of the first major demands occurred prior to 1965. Furthermore, the demands were primarily city-wide in scope. Forty-eight per cent advocated changes that would affect the entire city school system, and another 31 per cent of the demands were concerned with more than one of the city's schools. (See Table 8.) Finally, Tables 9 and 10 show that while the demands were only slightly more oriented toward immediate action rather than broader policy changes, this was very much dependent on when the first major demand took place. Those demands which occurred from 1960 to 1963 were much more likely to have been concerned with a change in school board policy than were those demands which were made after 1963. Sixty-eight per cent of the first major demands made prior to 1964 advocated a change in school board policy, while only 31 per cent of the demands made after 1963 were primarily concerned with broad policy changes.

Insert Tables 7, 8, 9 and 10 about here

In summary, the events with which we are concerned in this report revolve around the first major demands for the improvement of education for Negroes made in the ninety-three sample cities. In general, we found these demands to be oriented toward integration of students rather than toward the improvement of existing black schools, and to have been made in the early and middle 1960's by more traditional and moderate

civil rights groups. We are not addressing ourselves to the total civil rights activity surrounding the school desegregation issue in any city, and this report should be read with that fact firmly in mind. It is the first major demand, and the reactions of various actors in the school systems to those demands with which we are concerned.

School System Responses to the First Major Demand

Remembering that we are concerned only with what could be a small portion of the total civil rights activity involving the school system, our next task is to analyze just what the school systems did in response to the demands presented to them. Much of the data presented in this section comes from the education reporter questionnaire. For example, this respondent was asked, "During the three months after this first major demand was made, what was the first reaction of the school system? Was it a policy statement, or some specific action, or did they do nothing during these three months?" Table 11 shows that the immediate response for 23 per cent of the cities was to do nothing at all. The only action another 51 per cent of the school systems took was either to issue a statement or appoint a committee to study the problem and report back to the school board. It was only the remaining 26 per cent of the school systems who took some kind of action.

Insert Table 11 about here

The fact that a large percentage of systems reacted by doing nothing or at most appointing a committee to study the problem suggests two hypotheses. The first is that school systems were basically unaware that the problems presented to them existed, or if they were aware, chose to ignore them. School systems did not anticipate the demands, and therefore, were unable to respond to them. On the other hand, by placing the problem in the hands of an official committee, the school system could both legitimize the demand and demonstrate the school system's concern about it. They were not committing the schools to any particular remedy, and they were leaving most of their options open. The first hypothesis suggests that school boards and administrators are reactors instead of initiators, while the second indicates that they have some political savvy. The two are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and we should be able to test both of them with further analysis of the data.

The overall responses by school systems to the first major demands, as given to us by the education reporter, are shown in Table 12. By overall response we mean any action taken by the school system in response to the first major demand from the time the demand was first presented until it was settled or died out. Only 7 per cent of the cities failed to take any of the actions listed, and it is possible that those systems took other kinds of actions not listed on the forced choice question. Because a school system could take more than one response to a single demand, the percentages in Table 12 do not total

100. It should be emphasized here that we are not talking about the number of children or schools desegregated. Rather, we are talking about gross indications of the school system's response and commitments to desegregation.

Insert Table 12 about here

The Decision to Bus

The act of busing students in order to achieve integrated schools has often been considered the most radical alternative available to a school system. Although it may have the same effect on a school district's racial distribution as would redrawing school attendance boundaries or closing a segregated school, busing is thought by many to be the epitome of "forced integration." It can arouse enormous amount of controversy and hostility among certain segments of the population, especially lower and working class whites. Therefore, the decision of a school board to initiate or expand a busing program in order to integrate the schools can be most significant, both in terms of its potential political consequences and in terms of its effect on the school budget.

We cannot say exactly how much busing took place in any one city, or just what the busing accomplished, but Table 13 shows that those cities which bused to integrate were also more likely to initiate other

significant desegregation actions. Taking into account four other desegregation actions a school system could use, we considered building an educational park and closing a segregated school to be more positive commitments to school desegregation than either open enrollment or boundary changes. Similarly, we felt that a school system employing both open enrollment and boundary changes was taking a bigger step than the school system using just one or the other. With these assumptions in mind, Table 13 shows that school systems which bused to integrate were much more likely either to close a segregated school or build an educational park than were those systems which bused to reduce overcrowding or did not bus at all. Similarly, busing to integrate was never a solitary action. It was always accompanied by some other step.

Insert Table 13 about here

Table 14 shows that whether or not a city bused is also a good predictor of whether or not it integrated one or more all-white elementary schools. Sixty-eight per cent of those cities which bused claim to have integrated at least one all-white elementary school, while only 38 per cent of those cities not busing claim to have done so. This suggests that busing is a very important step in the desegregation process. Some cities seem to have integrated white elementary schools without using it, but most have not.

Insert Table 14 about here

Although the data suggest that cities who bused in response to the first major demand were more likely to have complemented it with other significant actions, and were more likely to have integrated at least one all-white elementary school, we cannot say how many children were affected by the actions described above. We can conclude, however, that busing is not the radical action it is sometimes pictured to be. Sixty-one per cent of the cities presented with demands to improve the education of Negroes included some form of busing in their response. Furthermore, 39 per cent claimed they did so specifically to integrate the schools, not just to reduce overcrowding.

On the other hand, the busing is essentially one way -- from black schools to white schools. Table 15 and 16 show that school administrators claim to have integrated many more previously all-white elementary schools than previously all-black schools. Controlling for the fact that some school administrators refused to acknowledge that their city had any all-white or all-black schools, 60 per cent claimed to have integrated at least one all-white elementary school since 1963, while only 27 per cent claimed to have integrated at least one all-black elementary school. If white as well as black children were being bused we would expect these percentages to be more nearly equal.

Insert Tables 15 and 16 about here

Furthermore, most black students still attend predominantly black schools. Utilizing data provided by the U.S. Department of Health,

Education, and Welfare, we were able to compute for the forty-three largest school districts in our sample the percentage of Negro students attending schools which are more than 50 per cent black. This distribution is shown in Table 17. Almost three-fourths of the forty-three cities have more than 70 per cent of their black students attending schools which are predominantly Negro. This lends further support to the contention that the busing programs initiated in response to the first major demands are both small and stress the transfer of black students rather than white students.

Insert Table 17 about here

Of course the size of the Negro population in a school district is a major factor preventing integration. Figure 1 demonstrates that the higher the number of Negro students in a city's public school system, the lower the percentage of Negroes in predominantly white schools. For most of the big city ghettos, less than 10 per cent of the blacks are integrated into majority white schools. New York City is an exception, where 19.7 per cent of the blacks are integrated.

Insert Figure 1 about here

An additional factor, although related to the size of the Negro school population, is residential segregation, a basic cause of <u>de facto</u>

school segregation. Even if Negroes constitute only a small percentage of a city's school population, segregated housing patterns can place those blacks in neighborhood schools which themselves then become just as segregated. We would expect that the correlation between a measure of residential segregation (such as the Tauber Index) and the percentage of Negroes attending predominantly white schools in a city is highly negative. The more segregated the residential patterns in a city, the less likely are Negroes to attend majority white schools. Hypotheses such as this will be examined more closely in future reports.

In summary, while we can point out that some desegregation has taken place in response to what we have called the first major demand, it is very difficult to say how much. While more than 60 per cent of our sample cities which experienced a demand for improved Negro education initiated some kind of busing program, the vast majority of Negro students remain in majority black schools. Demands have been presented and responses have been made, but the effects of both are negligible -- at least in terms of the number of blacks attending schools with whites.

Attitudes toward Integration

We have already seen that the civil rights groups who made the first major demands favored integration. Eighty-one per cent of the demands asked in some way or another for an end to segregated schools. Although there were also demands for the upgrading of black schools and the inclusion of black studies in curricula, by far the biggest emphasis

of the demands was for integration. Furthermore, our data suggest that even though more recent demands on school systems may be less oriented toward integration and more oriented toward the improvement of black schools, the former is still encouraged by many civil rights leaders. Perhaps it is the reasons that blacks want integrated schools that have changed.

When 430 black civil rights leaders in our ninety-three cities were asked, "Will Negroes learn more in integrated schools?" 88 per cent of the 374 who responded said yes. However, almost two-thirds of those believing Negroes benefit academically from integration saw the cause to be the better books, teachers, and equipment found in white schools. (See table 18.) Another third felt that blacks who go to school with whites feel less inferior, and as a result are more motivated to learn. A final 6 per cent thought that students in integrated schools work harder, and therefore, the teacher can cover material more rapidly. In general, these black respondents seem to argue that integration per se does not benefit Negro achievement, but that the ancillary benefits of better equipment and teachers are what really count. If this interpretation of their feelings is correct, we would expect that the lack of "reverse busing" (i.e., the transfer of white children to inner city schools) in most cities does not bother today's civil rights leaders. If it is black pride, better equipment, and qualified teachers that are the keys to improved Negro academic performance, then busing white students to the ghetto is basically irrelevant.

Insert Table 18 about here

The hypothesis that black leaders support school integration primarily because of the resulting academic benefits that accrue to Negro students is further refuted by the data in Table 19. Only 23 per cent considered increased Negro academic performance a most important reason for integrating the schools. Instead, black support seems to stem from moral and social reasons. Integrated schools are most important because "It is morally wrong to segregate students" and "Negroes and whites need the opportunity to become accustomed to each other so that they will not become prejudiced." This suggests that black leaders think school integration is more useful in combating white prejudices and discrimination than in raising Negro academic performance.

Insert Table 19 about here

The fact that the black civil rights leaders seem to consider better equipment and facilities to be a major factor associated with improved Negro achievement is somewhat inconsistent with our finding that demands for the upgrading of Negro schools and the improvement of facilities and teachers were not stressed in the first major demands. (See Table 5.) There are several possible interpretations for this difference, any or all of which might be true.

First, while black civil rights leaders may have firmly believed in the importance and necessity of integration at the time of the first major demand, their belief in the importance of black pride and black

consciousness may be stronger at the present time. The increasingly frequent demand by civil rights groups for community control of schools is an indication that this attitude change has taken place among blacks. The attitude change might also reflect the resolution of cognitive dissonance. Since the belief in and demand for integrated schools has produced few results, black leaders may have convinced themselves that it is not integration that matters anyway. Finally, black leaders may think that even though it is equipment and facilities that are important, it is unrealistic to think that black communities can, or that white communities will, provide the needed resources to upgrade black schools. Therefore, the only way to make these resources available to Negroes is to send black students to the white schools that have them already. In this sense, integration is only a means to attain better facilities, not an end in and of itself.

School board and superintendents all express a firm commitment to integrated education. Table 20 shows that more than 70 per cent of each of the four school board respondents and the superintendents disagreed with the statement that, "There is no reason to believe that Negroes will learn more in integrated schools." We do not know why they believe this, but we think it indicates a strong belief in integration.

Insert Table 20 about here

Further support for this hypothesis is given in Tables 21 to 23. Two members of the school board in each city were asked to give their

opinions of the positions of all school board members, the mayor and the school superintendent on a hypothetical integration program which involved special integration efforts, such as busing or altering the grade organization. Each of our two responding school board members rated every other member of the board on a scale from 1 (most favorable to integration) to 5 (least favorable). Every board member's two ratings were averaged into a single score, and the median for the entire board was taken as the board's final score. Table 23 shows that 70 per cent of the school boards were considered slightly or strongly in favor of special integration efforts. Almost 80 per cent of the superintendents were thought to be in favor of such efforts, and even though the mayors were rated less favorably than either the superintendents or school boards, more than one-half were scored as slightly or strongly in favor of special integration efforts. These latter tables suggest that superintendents and school boards are not only overwhelming in favor of integrated schools, but that they are also willing to undertake special efforts in order to achieve them.

Insert Tables 21, 22 and 23 about here

In summary, although both black and white community leaders support statements advocating school integration, the reasons behind that support probably vary. Both may agree that integration has a moral value but we hypothesize that black leaders support school integration in part because they consider it the only immediately feasible

way to supply Negro students with adequate teachers and equipment. White leaders may additionally consider integration valuable because they think sitting next to whites somehow causes Negroes to learn more. (Such an opinion is supported by data from the Coleman Report.[1]) On the basis of the analysis done thus far, it is difficult to clearly distinguish the reasons different groups support school integration. However, the fact remains that integrated education is still endorsed by many leaders, both black and white, in our big cities today.

Correlates of a School System's Decision to Bus

The final section of this report will look at some of the correlates of a school system's decision to undertake busing as a response to the first major demand. We have already seen that busing is not the radical action that many have considered it to be. Sixty-one per cent of the cities initiated some form of busing as a result of the first major demand. On the other hand, busing often requires a large outlay of monetary and political capital; costs the school system may not be willing to pay. This section will look at a few differences between the 61 per cent of the cities and school systems who did bus and the 39 per cent who did not. Controversy -- Controversy scores were developed for each city by summing the responses of the city editor, political leader, and major civic leader to a question asking them to rate eleven issues in the city on a scale from one (little controversy)

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[1] James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966). See also Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, A Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967).

to four (much controversy). Included among these eleven issues were "Controversy over education" and "Controversy over race relations." The final distribution of scores for each issue and for the total of all issues was trichotomized and crosstabulated with the decision to bus.

Table 24 shows that a school system's decision to bus was positively related to the amount of reported controversy in a city. However, the table also suggests that controversy did not influence a board's decision to bus as a response to the first major demand as much as it might have affected it's overall decision to bus. High controversy over education and race relations is more strongly associated with a city ever having bused than it is with having bused in response to the first major demand. This suggests two related possibilities. First, controversy and pressure may not have influenced the school boards' response to the first major demand as much as might be expected. Second, school systems could have been forced to bus because of a buildup in controversy brought about by any delay on their part. That is, the longer a school board waited to initiate busing, the more controversy developed, and the greater pressure there was to bus. Civil Rights Activity -- This interpretation is further supported when we look at the relationship between busing and the Mass Activity Index in Table 25. The Mass Activity Index is a measure based on the extent to which a city has experienced economic and school boycotts, demonstrations, and sit-ins since 1960. A high score indicates that a

city has had more such civil rights activity and a low score indicates less activity relative to other cities. Although a school system's decision to bus is positively related to this measure, the association is stronger for those cities which bused sometime after the first major demand than it is for those cities who used busing as a response to the first major demand.

Insert Tables 24 and 25 about here

School Board Liberalism

Each of the four school board respondents in the study was asked to fill in a thirty-five item "agree-disagree" attitude questionnaire similar to the one used by Robert Crain in an earlier study of school desegregation.[1] A general "liberal-conservative" attitude scale was constructed by means of a weighted summated rating procedure using sixteen of the items. (See Appendix B.) An unweighted average of the four school board member scores on this scale was used as the final school board liberalism measure.

Although "liberal" and "conservative" are often loaded words, we will use these terms to help describe the responses to these scales. The basis for distinguishing the two positions is the conception each embodies of the relationship between man and society, or social structure.

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[1]Robert L. Crain, The Politics of School Desegregation (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968).

On the one hand, society can be justified or defended by attitudes and ideology. Here, the duty of man is to adjust and conform to the structure and its institutions. On the other hand, society can be judged critically in terms of its consequences for the welfare of man; that welfare, of course, being defined by ideology and attitudes.

"Conservative" attitudes and ideologies are those that tend to define man's situation in terms that defend the status quo. They emphasize the importance and value of existing social arrangements, and the necessity of man's adjusting to them. "Liberal" attitudes, on the other hand, tend to justify and advocate changing the social structure or some aspect of it. Liberals generally feel that man should reshape and mold his environment when he is constrained by it, rather than try to adjust to the environment as the conservative would have him do. In using these terms to describe the general attitude of a school board we do not mean to imply a "rightness" or a "wrongness" to any position or attitude. The terms are used to distinguish general approaches advocated to achieve the goals both liberals and conservatives espouse; namely, the maximum opportunity for all persons to develop their potential.

Table 26 shows that liberal school boards were much more likely than conservative boards to use busing as a response to the first major demand. Furthermore, school board liberalism seems to have been a more important factor influencing the decision to use busing as a first major demand response than it was in any later decision to bus. The

gamma coefficients between liberal attitude scores and busing are much higher for the first major demand period than they are for the period after the first major demand.

Insert Table 26 about here

In summary, the attitudes of school board members seem to be a better predictor of whether or not the school system bused in response to the first major demand than either the amount of controversy in the city or the amount of civil rights activity. School board liberalism correlates +.82 with having bused in response to the first major demand, while controversy and civil rights activity correlate only +.36 and +.18 respectively. This suggests that civil rights protests, demonstrations, and pressures had less to do with a school board's decision to introduce busing than did the attitudes the school board members brought with them to their positions. On the other hand, controversy and civil rights activity did seem to influence the school boards in the long run. The gamma coefficients were higher between controversy, civil rights activity, and school systems who bused after the first major demand than they were between controversy, civil rights activity, and school systems who bused in response to the first major demand.

Summary and Conclusions

Although we have analyzed only a small portion of our data, the material presented in this report reveal several interesting patterns. First, thirteen of the ninety-three cities in our sample seem to have experienced no major demand for the improvement of Negro education. Given the pervasiveness and intensity of the civil rights and black power movements since 1960, we find this puzzling. Five of the thirteen cities without a first major demand are located in the Far West and have less than 5 per cent Negro in their populations. Eight of the cities have less than 7 per cent Negro and seven are in the Far West. However, neither being located in the Far West nor having a small Negro population seem to be a good explanation for the lack of a major demand. Twelve, of the nineteen cities in the Far West census region, did experience demands, as did such cities as Minneapolis, St. Paul, Des Moines, and Tacoma -- each with a black population of less than five per cent. It is possible that these cities may have done something to ward off any possible demonstrations and demands on the part of civil rights groups. However, our data indicate that Pasadena was the only city to initiate any kind of desegregation action without first being presented with a demand for it. Further analysis of the data should provide more insight into why these cities have experienced no demands.

In the eighty cities where demands for improved Negro education have been presented, we saw that the first demand usually asked for

integrated schools. Even though earlier demands were more oriented toward a change in school board policy while later demands were more concerned with immediate action, in both cases integration was seen as the key. General support for integrated schools was also suggested by the overwhelming agreement among black and white community leaders that Negroes learn more in integrated schools. We hypothesized that although both blacks and whites support integration, the reasons for this support vary. Blacks may support integration primarily because it means better facilities and equipment for Negro students, while whites view integrated schools more as an end in themselves. On the basis of the data available for this report, this hypothesis above must be treated as extremely tentative, and we will want to test and develop it as we analyze the data further.

We have focused our initial analysis of school system responses to the first major demand on the decision to bus. Almost two-thirds of the cities initiated some kind of busing program, and we hypothesized that the earlier this decision was made the more likely it was due to the liberal attitudes of the school board members rather than from the pressures resulting from civil rights activity and controversy. Although busing or not busing is an easily codified response, the actual decisions to desegregate, and the ultimate range of responses made are much more complex. Busing is only one of many options available to a school system, and in many cases it may not have been the most important response. Further analysis of the data will enable

us to develop more complete and comprehensive measures of the school system's actions, both in response to the first major demand and over a longer period of time.

Our discussion took into account only a few of the factors that seem to affect both the extent and process of school desegregation in a city. While school board liberalism, controversy, and civil rights activity seem to be related to a school system's response to demands for improved Negro education, they tell only a small part of the total story. Demographic characteristics, political styles of cities, the organization and influence of civil rights organizations, school board recruitment processes, and other school board characteristics are additional factors that will have to be taken into account before the processes of school desegregation can be completely understood.

Finally, our preliminary analysis suggests that the effects of the actions taken by school systems in response to the first major demand have been minimal. Most black students still attend predominantly Negro schools, and while cities which bused are more likely than cities which did not bus to claim to have integrated at least one elementary school, most of the busing was evidently from black schools to white schools. The school boards in our cities agreed that integrated education is a good thing, but neither the boards nor parents seem willing to transfer white children to inner city schools in order to achieve that integration. More than twice as many school systems claim to have integrated at least one previously all-white elementary school

as claim to have integrated a previously all-black elementary school. Future analysis of the data will include a more accurate assessment of the effect of school desegregation actions.

TABLE 1

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION COMPARING CITIES IN THE PERMANENT COMMUNITY SAMPLE AND RESEARCH SAMPLE IN TERMS OF POPULATION SIZE, LOCATION, AND RACIAL COMPOSITION

City Population	Universe: Total number U. S. Cities 50,000+	PCS Sample Percentage	Number of Cities in PCS	Number of "Northern" Cities in PCS	Number of "Northern" Cities with 3000+ Blacks in PCS	Number of "Northern" Cities in U. S.	Number of "Northern" Cities with 3000+ Blacks in Research Sample	Per Cent of all "Northern" U.S. Cities in Research Sample
1,000,000 or more	5	100%	5	5	5	5	5	100.0%
500 - 999,999	16	100%	16	12	12	12	11	91.7%
250 - 499,999	30	100%	30	21	21	30	20	66.7%
150 - 249,999	30	100%	30	20	16	30	16	53.4%
100 - 149,999	49	76%	37	28	18	34	18	52.9%
75 - 99,999	61	56%	35	28	12	49	12	24.5%
50 - 74,999	121	40%	47	42	11	91	11	12.1%
Total	312		200	156	95	251	93	37.1%

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF "SUBURBAN" AND "CENTRAL CITIES" IN PERMANENT COMMUNITY SAMPLE, IN THE RESEARCH SAMPLE, AND AMONG THOSE CITIES ELIMINATED (NORTHERN CITIES)

	Permanent Community Sample		Research Sample		Eliminated	
Total City Population (1960)	Suburb	Central City	Suburb	Central City	Suburb	Central City
1,000,000+	0	5	0	5	0	0
999,999 - 500,000	0	12	0	11	0	1
499,999 - 250,000	1	20	1	19	0	1
249,999 - 150,000	0	20	0	16	0	4
149,999 - 100,000	10	18	5	13	5	5
99,999 - 75,000	17	11	8	4	9	7
74,999 - 50,000	31	11	4	7	27	4
TOTAL	59	97	18	75	41	22

TABLE 3

COMBINED POPULATIONS OF ALL LARGE "NORTHERN" CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES COMPARED WITH THE POPULATIONS OF THOSE CITIES USED IN THE PERMANENT COMMUNITY SAMPLE AND THE RESEARCH SAMPLE

City Population	Total Population of All U. S. "Northern" Cities in size category	Total Population of All "Northern" Cities in PCS in size category	Total Population of All "Northern" Cities in Research Sample by size category	Per Cent of Total "Northern" Population in Research sample	Per Cent of PCS "Northern" Population in Research sample
1,000,000 or more	17,484,059	17,484,059	17,484,059	100.0%	100.0%
500 - 999,999	8,277,845	8,277,845	7,580,648	91.6%	91.6%
250 - 499,999	7,640,336	7,640,336	7,272,788	95.2%	95.2%
150 - 249,999	3,717,220	3,717,220	2,995,735	80.6%	80.6%
100 - 149,999	3,977,815	3,273,890	2,170,023	54.6%	66.3%
75 - 99,999	4,207,973	2,410,667	1,045,723	24.9%	43.4%
50 - 74,999	5,536,730	2,547,933	899,176	16.2%	35.3%
Total	50,841.978	45,351,950	39,437,792		87.0%

TABLE 4

RESPONSE RATES FOR EACH QUESTIONNAIRE

	Per Cent
Wave 1	
Education Reporter (self-administered)	86
Wave 2	
City Editor	100
1955 School Board Respondent	99
Mayor or his administrative assistant	99
Political leader from opposite party of mayor	100
Major civic leader	99
Civil Rights Informant	98
Wave 3	
Superintendent of Schools	85
City or regional PTA president	100
1963 Educational Civil Rights Leader	100
1968 Educational Civil Rights Leader	99
Black school board member	97
Election/Appointment specialist on school board	98
School Board finance specialist	98
School Board desegregation specialist	96
Militant civil rights leader	99
Black Political Leader	97
Black Civic Leader	97
Member of Superintendent's Staff	95

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FIRST MAJOR DEMANDS
BY PRIMARY CONCERN OF THE DEMAND

	Per Cent
Integration of Students	
Integration; end segregation (general)	54
Re-draw school boundaries	15
Open enrollment	6
Bus for integration	3
Build an educational park	1
Close a segregated school	1
Integrate extra-curricular activities	1
Integration of Faculty or Administration	
Hire more Negro teachers or administrators	5
Integrate the faculty or administrative staff	1
Put more Negroes on the school board	1
Other	
Upgrade existing black schools	3
Build new neighborhood schools	3
Improve curriculum	3
Reduce overcrowding	1
Other	3
TOTAL	101[a]

Base N	80
No FMD cities	13
Total	93

[a]Differs from 100 per cent because of rounding.

TABLE 6

ORGANIZATIONS OR GROUPS PRESENTING
THE FIRST MAJOR DEMAND

	Per Cent
Local branch of a national civil rights organization (NAACP, CORE, Urban League)	63
City-wide civil rights organization, or coalitions of local groups	16
Neighborhood, school, or church based civil rights groups	11
Local or state government official and agencies	6
Other	4
Total	100

N=80

Base N	80
No FMD	13
Total	93

TABLE 7

YEAR IN WHICH FIRST MAJOR DEMAND
IS REPORTED TO HAVE OCCURRED

	Per Cent
1960	4
1961	8
1962	9
1963	24
1964	14
1965	17
1966	9
1967	13
1968	3
Total	101[a]
N	78
Base N	78
No FMD	13
Missing Data	2
Total	93

[a]Differs from 100 per cent because of rounding

TABLE 8

TARGET OF FIRST MAJOR DEMAND

One school	21
Several schools	31
Entire school system	48
Total	100
Base N	80
Cities with no FMD	13
Total	93

TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF FIRST MAJOR DEMAND, BY WHETHER THE DEMAND WANTED IMMEDIATE ACTION OR A LONG RUN POLICY CHANGE BY SCHOOL BOARD

	Per Cent
First major demand advocated change in school board policy	43
First major demand advocated immediate action in some area	57
	100

Base N	80
Cities with no FMD	13
Total	93

TABLE 10[1]

ASSOCIATION OF THE YEAR OF THE FIRST MAJOR DEMAND WITH WHETHER OR NOT THE DEMAND WAS CONCERNED WITH IMMEDIATE ACTION OR A LONGER RANGE POLICY CHANGE

Year of Demand	Concern of Demand	
	Policy	Action
1960-1963	68%	31%
1964-1967	32%	69%
	100	100
	N=28	N=39

Q=+.65

[1]Part of the differences in "policy-action" concerns of the first major demand over time may be due to the ability of respondents to remember specific details better for more recent events. The degree to which this is true reduces the true relationship between the variables.

TABLE 11

CLASSIFICATION OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS' IMMEDIATE RESPONSE TO THE FIRST MAJOR DEMANDS, AS REPORTED BY THE EDUCATION REPORTER RESPONDENT

	Per Cent
Issued a statement or appointed a committee to study and report on the demand	51
Took some kind of action	26
Did nothing	23
Total	100
	(N=70)

Base N	70
No FMD cities	13
Missing data	10
Total	93

TABLE 12

ACTIONS TAKEN BY SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN RESPONSE TO THE FIRST MAJOR DEMAND BETWEEN THE TIME THE DEMAND WAS FIRST MADE AND WHEN IT FINALLY DIED OUT OR WAS SETTLED

	Per Cent
Initiated or expanded compensatory education program	51
Asked for a report from the school administration	45
Initiated or expanded open enrollment	41
Appointed a committee to study the demand	39
Re-drew school boundaries	31
Built a new school	25
Closed a segregated school	12
Both bused to integrate and for overcrowding	12
Bused for overcrowding only	11
Bused to integrate only	9
None of these	7

Base N	65
Cities with no FMD	13
Missing data cities	15
Total	93

TABLE 13

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DECISION TO BUS AND OTHER ACTIONS TAKEN IN RESPONSE TO THE FIRST MAJOR DEMAND

	Built Ed. Park Closed Seg. School	Both Open Enroll, and Boundary Chng.	Either Open Enroll, or Boundary Change	None of these	Missing Data Cities
Bus to Integrate	Albany Bridgeport Buffalo Lansing New York Niagara Falls Pittsburgh Providence Riverside St. Paul San Bernadino Seattle Springfield, Mass. Stamford Syracuse	Hartford Newark Portland	Des Moines New Haven Omaha Racine Rochester Sacramento St. Louis Tacoma		Ann Arbor Berkeley Camden E. Orange Minneapolis
Bus for Overcrowd	Erie Lexington	Baltimore Dayton Denver Detroit	E. St. Louis Ft. Wayne Gary Kansas City, Mo. Los Angeles Waterbury Wichita	Cleveland Grand Rapids San Francisco	Toledo Washington
Neither	Jersey City	Cincinnati Columbus Evansville Indianapolis Paterson Peoria Pontiac San Diego	Charleston, W.V. Chicago Kansas City, Kan. Milwaukee Passaic Saginaw Tulsa Utica Waukegan Wilmington	Akron Lima Long Beach Muncie Oklahoma City South Bend Waterloo	Hamilton Louisville Philadelphia Rockford Youngstown

CITIES WITH NO FIRST MAJOR DEMAND: Albuquerque, Cambridge, Colorado Springs, Flint, Las Vegas, Pasadena, Phoenix, Santa Monica, Springfield, Ill., Trenton, Tucson, Warren, Yonkers

TABLE 14

PER CENT OF CITIES WHO HAVE CLAIMED TO INTEGRATE ONE OR MORE ALL-WHITE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS SINCE 1963 AS A RESULT OF SCHOOL BOARD POLICY, BY WHETHER OR NOT THE CITY BUSED IN RESPONSE TO THE FIRST MAJOR DEMAND

Number of Schools Integrated	Extent of Busing		
	No Busing	Busing to Integrate or Overcrowding	Busing to Integrate and Overcrowding
None	62%	56%	17%
One or more	38%	44%	83%
Total	100	100	100
	(N=16)	(N=19)	(N=18)

Gamma = +.62

TABLE 15

EXTENT TO WHICH CITIES CLAIM TO HAVE
INTEGRATED ALL-WHITE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
AS A RESULT OF SCHOOL BOARD ACTION

	Per Cent
Cities claiming to have integrated at least one all-white elementary school	60
Cities claiming to have integrated no all-white elementary schools	40
	100 (N=52)
Number of cities claiming no all-white elementary schools	3
Missing data	38
Base N	52
Total	93

TABLE 16

EXTENT TO WHICH CITIES CLAIM TO HAVE
INTEGRATED AT LEAST ONE ALL-BLACK
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AS A RESULT OF
SCHOOL BOARD ACTION

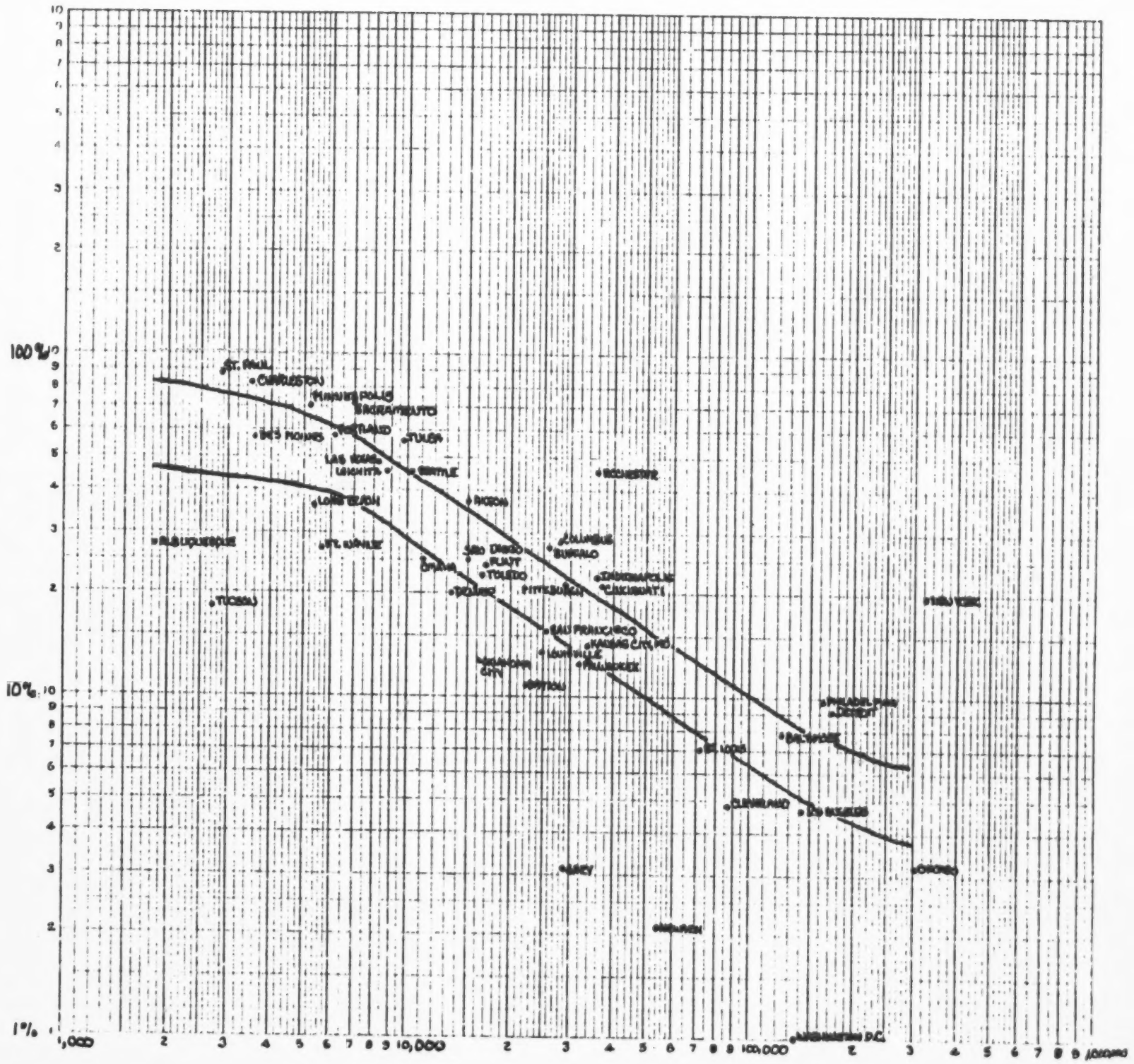
	Per Cent
Cities claiming to have integrated at least one all-black elementary school	27
Cities claiming to have integrated no all-black elementary schools	73
	100 (N=30)
Base N	30
Number of cities claiming no all-black elementary schools	11
Missing data/questionnaire	53
Total	93

TABLE 17

DISTRIBUTION OF CITIES SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN CITY WHO ATTEND PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO (50% OR MORE) SCHOOLS

Per Cent Negroes Attending Schools 50%+ Black	Per Cent of Cities in Each Category
0 - 10	0
11 - 20	5
21 - 30	5
31 - 40	0
41 - 50	5
51 - 60	9
61 - 70	5
71 - 80	30
81 - 90	21
91 - 100	21
Total	101
	(N=43)

FIGURE 1: PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE SCHOOLS (50% OR MORE WHITE)



THOUSANDS OF NEGRO PUPILS

TABLE 18

REASONS GIVEN BY BLACK LEADERS WHY NEGROES LEARN MORE IN INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

	Per Cent
Schools that whites attend have better books, teachers, equipment, etc.	64
Blacks in school with whites feel less inferior and are motivated to learn better	31
Students in integrated schools work hard and the teacher doesn't have to go as slowly	6
Total	101 (N=308)

TABLE 19

BLACK CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING IS THE MOST IMPORTANT REASON WHY THE SCHOOLS SHOULD BE INTEGRATED?"

	Per Cent Answering					
	Most Impt.	Very Impt.	Less Impt.	Not Impt.	Total	Base N
"It is morally wrong to segregate students."	53	18	15	14	100	376
"Negroes and whites need the opportunity to become accustomed to each other so they will not be prejudiced."	52	31	11	7	101	380
"School integration will indicate to everyone that Negroes must be treated equally."	30	29	19	22	100	372
"Negroes learn more in integrated schools"	23	35	19	23	100	364

TABLE 20

RESPONSES OF SUPERINTENDENT AND FOUR SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS TO THE STATEMENT: "THERE IS NO REASON TO THINK THAT NEGROES WILL LEARN MORE IN AN INTEGRATED SCHOOL."

	Per Cent				
	Agree	Tend to Agree	Tend to Disagree	Disagree	Total
Superintendent (N=74)	0	16	37	47	100
Black School Board Member (N=84)	6	8	30	56	100
School Board Desegregation Spec. (N=81)	9	19	38	35	101
School Board Finance Spec. (N=82)	10	18	33	39	100
School Board Election/ Appointment Specialist (N=86)	10	14	43	33	100

TABLE 21

POSITION OF SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT ON HYPOTHETICAL SPECIAL INTEGRATION EFFORTS ACCORDING TO TWO SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS

Per Cent Ranked	Black School Board Member	School Board Desegr. Spec.
Strongly in favor	57	60
Slightly in favor	22	18
Neither	8	8
Slightly opposed	9	6
Strongly opposed	5	8
Total	101 (N=79)	100 (N=78)

TABLE 22

POSITION OF MAYOR ON HYPOTHETICAL SPECIAL INTEGRATION EFFORTS ACCORDING TO TWO SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS

Per Cent Ranking Mayor:	Black School Board Member	School Board Desegr. Spec.
Strongly in favor	39	36
Slightly in favor	26	26
Neither	21	18
Slightly opposed	8	7
Strongly opposed	6	13
Total	100 (N=66)	100 (N=61)

TABLE 23

MEDIAN POSITION OF SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS
ON HYPOTHETICAL SPECIAL INTEGRATION EFFORTS

Position	Per Cent of School Boards
1.0 (Strongly in favor)	26
1.5	15
2.0 (Slightly in favor)	25
2.5	4
3.0 (Neither)	10
3.5	4
4.0 (Slightly opposed)	10
4.5	2
5.0 (Strongly opposed)	3
Total	99[a] (N=93)

[a]Differs from 100 per cent because of rounding

TABLE 24

GAMMA COEFFICIENTS SHOWING THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN CONTROVERSY SCORES, THE DECISION TO BUS IN RESPONSE TO THE FIRST MAJOR DEMAND, AND WHETHER OR NOT THE CITY HAS EVER BUSED

	School System Bused in Response to FMD	School System Bused in Response to FMD or Later
Controversy over education	+.23	+.30
Controversy over race relations	+.27	+.41
Total Controversy score	+.36	+.36

TABLE 25

GAMMA COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN MASS CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITY AND THE SCHOOL BOARD'S DECISION TO BUS

Association of Mass Civil Rights Activity with:	
Busing in response to the First Major Demand.	+.18
Busing at any time.	+.36

TABLE 26

GAMMA COEFFICIENTS SHOWING THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN LIBERAL ATTITUDE SCORES OF SCHOOL BOARDS, THE DECISION TO BUS IN RESPONSE TO THE FIRST MAJOR DEMAND, AND WHETHER OR NOT THE CITY HAS EVER BUSED

	School System Bused in Response to FMD	School System Bused in Response to FMD or later
Race Liberalism	+.57	+.25
Total Liberalism	+.82	+.50

APPENDIX A

Non-Southern Cities in the Permanent Community Sample with at Least 3,000 Negroes

1. Akron, Ohio
2. Albany, N. Y.
3. Albuquerque, N. Mex.
4. Ann Arbor, Michigan
5. Baltimore, Maryland
6. Berkeley, Calif.
7. Boston, Mass.
8. Bridgeport, Conn.
9. Buffalo, N. Y.
10. Cambridge, Mass.
11. Camden, N. J.
12. Charleston, W. Va.
13. Chicago, Ill.
14. Cincinnati, Ohio
15. Cleveland, Ohio
16. Colorado Springs, Colo.
17. Columbus, Ohio
18. Dayton, Ohio
19. Denver, Colo.
20. Des Moines, Iowa
21. Detroit, Mich.
22. East Orange, N. J.
23. East St. Louis, Ill.
24. Erie, Pa.
25. Evansville, Ind.
26. Flint, Mich.
27. Fort Wayne, Ind.
28. Gary, Ind.
29. Grand Rapids, Mich.
30. Hamilton, Ohio
31. Hartford, Conn.
32. Indianapolis, Ind.
33. Jersey City, N. J.
34. Kansas City, Kans.
35. Kansas City, Mo.
36. Lansing, Mich.
37. Las Vegas, Nev.
38. Lexington, Ky.
39. Lima, Ohio
40. Long Beach, Calif.
41. Los Angeles, Calif.
42. Louisville, Ky.
43. Milwaukee, Wis.
44. Minneapolis, Minn.
45. Muncie, Ind.
46. Newark, N. J.
47. New Haven, Conn.
48. New York, N. Y.
49. Niagara Falls, N. Y.
50. Oakland, Calif.
51. Oklahoma City, Okla.
52. Omaha, Nebr.
53. Pasadena, Calif.
54. Passaic, N. J.
55. Paterson, N. J.
56. Peoria, Ill.
57. Philadelphia, Pa.
58. Phoenix, Ariz.
59. Pittsburgh, Pa.
60. Pontiac, Mich.
61. Portland, Oreg.
62. Providence, R. I.
63. Racine, Wis.
64. Riverside, Calif.
65. Rochester, N. Y.
66. Rockford, Ill.
67. Sacramento, Calif.
68. Saginaw, Mich.
69. St. Louis, Mo.
70. St. Paul, Minn.
71. San Bernadino, Calif.
72. San Diego, Calif.
73. San Francisco, Calif.
74. Santa Monica, Calif.
75. Seattle, Wash.
76. South Bend, Ind.
77. Springfield, Ill.
78. Springfield, Mass.
79. Stamford, Conn.
80. Syracuse, N. Y.
81. Tacoma, Wash.
82. Toledo, Ohio
83. Trenton, N. J.
84. Tucson, Ariz.
85. Tulsa, Okla.
86. Utica, N. Y.
87. Washington, D. C.
88. Warren, Ohio
89. Waterbury, Conn.
90. Waterloo, Iowa
91. Waukegan, Ill.
92. Wichita, Kans.
93. Wilmington, Del.
94. Yonkers, N. Y.
95. Youngstown, Ohio

APPENDIX B

Attitude Items Used in "School Board Liberalism" Scales

Race Liberalism	"Liberal" Response
There is a problem with the civil rights movement because many Negroes are demanding privileges which whites do not have.	Disagree
There is no reason to think that Negroes will learn more in an integrated school.	Disagree
The federal and state government should establish agencies to help Negroes find housing outside the ghetto.	Agree
In many cases, Negro leaders have not been willing to make reasonable compromises on civil rights issues.	Disagree
The government has been too lenient in handling rioters.	Disagree
Most demonstrations have hurt the Negroes' cause as much as they have helped.	Disagree

Total Liberalism (scale included the items listed above)

Teachers should not have the right to strike.	Disagree
The government has the responsibility to see to it that all people, rich or poor, have adequate housing, medical care, and protection against unemployment.	Agree
In principal, federal aid to education jeopardizes state control of education.	Disagree
The average home-owner is the most underrepresented person in American city politics.	Disagree
It would probably be a good thing if the U. S. government set up a National Health Service to provide low-cost medical care to people of all ages.	Agree